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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy. hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Borante, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.